

# Christianity and Crisis

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## The United States and China

**H**AD the almost universal expectation of Mr. Dewey's election been fulfilled, the American people might have anticipated one important modification of the bi-partisan foreign policy of recent years—far more vigorous American support for China.

The Republican indictment of the Truman Administration's China policy was first developed by Mr. Dewey in a major address just a year ago. His opponents alleged a political motive behind this criticism. In an election year, they charged, it was essential that the party seeking office should find some flaw in their opponents' conduct of foreign affairs; General Marshall's coolness toward the government of Chiang Kai-shek, following from the ill-success of his own efforts to bring peace to China, offered the only opportunity. However that may be, Mr. Dewey's contention has been clear and logical in its premises, unequivocal and insistent in presentation. The United States is pouring millions into Europe to halt the advance of Communism westward while acquiescing in the spread of Communism eastward across Asia. If Communism is to be "stopped," it must be checked on both continents equally and simultaneously.

The unforeseen return of Mr. Truman has relieved the Republicans from the obligation to redeem their pledge. But the basic position remains as Mr. Dewey defined it. The Democratic Administration must justify their ineffective program of limited aid to China, or propose a new policy more nearly in line with Republican promises. A realistic reappraisal of the situation is called for. The first essential is to get a firm grip on the two principal factors, the character and relative strength of the embattled contenders for control of China.

Recent weeks appear to have witnessed some relaxation in the more extreme features of Chinese Communist practice. Missionaries report a more lenient toleration of Christian activity, especially in the fields of medicine and education. Pressure upon the peasants and expropriation of property have eased somewhat. The great question is whether this change in practice is tactical and temporary or fundamental and permanent. Many believe that the former

brutal handling of the Chinese peasants has proven self-defeating. In view of the Communist leaders' need for a broader base of popular support, or at least acquiescence, and in view of the present critical phase of the world struggle, the "new policy" requires for its explanation no motive beyond a shrewd sense of expediency. There is no evidence to support the wishful hope of reversal in basic Communist policy. While the Chinese Communists apparently have maintained autonomy of action, the ideological kinship with Moscow is intimate; the latest and most revealing proof is their unqualified support of Moscow's attempt to excommunicate Tito. Moreover, the force of world events seems destined to drive Chinese and Soviet Communism into ever closer alliance. Both are irrevocably committed to world revolution. Both are committed, by deepest conviction, to the ultimate extirpation of religion.

In the meantime, the Nationalist position has suffered steady and progressive deterioration. China's best friends are most alive to the extent and gravity of that deterioration. It has taken place on all fronts—economic, political, military and above all, in national morale. Nothing is to be gained by denying or minimizing the dark facts. Not a few of those who have been most concerned to explain and excuse the weakness of China's present government are beginning to question whether the alarming drift toward demoralization and disintegration can now be reversed.

Can the National Government be "saved"? And is it worth saving? Certainly, this cannot be accomplished without measures far more drastic and decisive than might have been necessary when Mr. Dewey first sought to fasten attention on China's plight, and its significance in the world scene, a year ago. Whatever changes in leadership might be effected, American assistance could avail to sustain a regime sympathetic to Western democracy only by the investment of resources both economic and military far beyond those thus far proposed or contemplated. Such measures would be certain to raise the cry, not only in Russia but also here and in China, of "American imperialism." If China should

go the way of Czechoslovakia, above her fate might well be raised the epitaph which seems destined to mark the death of many lost causes in our day: "too little and too late."

In so bitter a dilemma, the cry is being raised, "Is there no third alternative?" Many Chinese and friends of China reply, "There must be because there should be." Indeed, in a situation tragic in almost every aspect, the supreme pathos is the impotence and self-delusion of Chinese liberals. Powerless alike to free their country from a leadership which they no longer trust or to save it from a tyranny which they fear far more, they are tempted to take refuge in hopes and proposals which bear no significant relation to the harsh realities. They seem incapable of learning the lessons of Europe and of facing the inextricable involvement of China in a world struggle for power.

This raises the final and supremely important issue. What is at stake is far more than the fate of China. Here, above all, wish-thinking is inexcusable. China in Communist hands means, almost inevitably, a Communist Asia. And Asia become Communist may render inescapable World War III.

Such are some of the considerations which face an Administration newly confirmed in power. Moreover, immediate choices are demanded. Time is rapidly running out. Failure to act, promptly and decisively, is, in the present crisis, a form of action. No decision more fateful for the future of this nation and the world will confront Mr. Truman and his advisers than that which must be taken within the next six weeks. None requires of the American people as well as their leaders clearer thinking and bolder resolution.

H. P. V. D.

## Editorial Notes

It is a dangerous venture to follow the prophets too trustfully even when they are equipped with all the modern technics of "opinion sampling." The Truman victory is the most remarkable refutation of the "polls" upon which the undersigned relied in writing his editorial in the last issue. That such a victory should have been possible after sixteen years of democratic rule, and with an essentially weak candidate, is one of the most remarkable occurrences in American life. It is in many ways a heartening occurrence also.

"America," the Catholic weekly, has called attention to the fact that the last of the Nuremberg trials in which Baron von Weizsaecker and twenty other ministers of state under the Nazi regime are being tried, have prompted grave apprehensions in re-

sponsible European circles about the philosophy which informs the prosecution. Robert M. W. Kempner, the chief prosecutor, is believed by many who have followed the trials closely, to be concerned to prove that there is no distinction between Germans and Nazis. He is reported, in fact, to have insisted that it is his purpose to establish the complicity of the German aristocracy in Nazism particularly. There is thus a strong "class bias" in the method of the prosecution; though it must be gratefully recorded that the judges of the court have shown no evidences of this.

The case of Baron von Weizsaecker, the Nazi war-time ambassador to the Vatican, whose trial will come to an end in December, illustrates the problem perfectly. Weizsaecker was one of the German aristocrats who continued in diplomatic service, despite his strong, primarily Christian, opposition to the regime. Many members of the German resistance movement have testified in his behalf, as has also Dr. Fetter, formerly the President of Swiss Federal Council of State. Dr. Fetter testified that the defendant had proved himself a true friend of Switzerland by revealing Hitler's plans for the conquest of the country to Swiss officials. The members of the German resistance testified to important aid which he had rendered them. As against this positive proof of his anti-Nazi activity there is of course evidence that he initialed state papers which establish his complicity in Nazi evil.

Even if the prosecutor were not informed by obviously too simple concepts of the involvement of specific classes of Germany in Nazi guilt, it would be difficult for prosecutors and judges of a democratic nation to understand why men of high moral principle might remain inside the Nazi regime. The reason is quite simply, that in a tyranny there is no possibility of effective resistance from the outside while there are slight possibilities of sabotaging the regime from the inside. The proof of the sincerity of such a position is given by the men who were involved in the attempt on Hitler's life in 1944. Most of them were executed. Many of them were in high official position until the very hour of their *coup d'etat*. The survivors have testified in Weizsaecker's behalf.

The obvious animus of the prosecutor in this case has prompted the gravest misgivings about the quality of American justice, not only in anti-Nazi circles of Germany, but also in Switzerland, where the case is being followed much more closely than here. It might be mentioned incidentally that one of the hazards of the American exercise of power, including juridical power, is that our procedures never come under public scrutiny. We are too far away

from the scene. American public opinion is interested in such matters as the tail-end of the Nuremberg trials in only very marginal terms. It is to be hoped that there is sufficient interest in this case to prompt a thorough review in Washington of what is being done in Nuremberg.

The new State of Israel is accused by the *Christian Century* of being a "Godless" state. Arthur Koestler, on the other hand, reports that it is in danger of becoming a clerical state. The former charge is due to the fact that God is mentioned in the new constitution only in terms of the ambiguous phrase of "Rock of Israel," which the secular and the devout interpret as they please. The latter charge is due to the fact that Sabbath and dietary laws have

been enforced in the Israeli army even upon those who are no longer orthodox in faith. It might be worth remembering that the phrase "Rock of Israel" has about the same ambiguity as "nature's God" with which our own Jefferson satisfied both the secularists and the Christians. Israel is being governed in fact by an alliance of a secularist labor party and an orthodox religious party. That alliance will probably produce quite a few compromises and contradictions. If we had to make a choice we would prefer a secular state to a clerical one for obvious reasons. It is difficult in any event to understand why American religious leaders who are so intent upon the "absolute wall of separation" between church and state should be exercised over the secularism of Israel. R. N.

## Visit to Germany

PAUL TILLICH

IN response to invitations from my former universities, Frankfurt and Marburg, and sponsored by Church World Service and the Rockefeller Foundation, I have visited Germany during this summer for the first time after 15 years. It was my task to lecture in the theological faculty of Marburg and the philosophical faculty of Frankfurt for several weeks and also to give lectures and speeches at as many larger centers as possible. With the help of the Educational Department of the Military Government in Wiesbaden and with the support of many of my former German friends I was able to visit for brief or longer stays the cities: Berlin, Hamburg, Munich, Cologne, Nuremberg, Heidelberg, Kassel, Mainz, and others.

My impressions of external facts are concerned with the ruins of all major cities, the traces of a superhuman burden in the faces of almost everybody, the incredibly crowded rooms in houses, cellars, airless concrete shelters, the meals without fat, eggs, meat, or milk, the large number of crippled and blind, the small number of men between 20 and 50 years of age. Deeper impressions came from the encounter with thousands of people in lectures, addresses, group and private discussions. One was impressed by the overwhelming response to the ideas presented, the intensity of participation by ever-growing crowds, the seriousness with which the problems were treated, as matters of ultimate concern; the desire to ask all kinds of questions, for information and on matters of principle. But the most important impressions—to the point of becoming transforming experiences—were those received from personal communication with hundreds of Germans, including relatives, old friends, former collaborators and acquaintances. It was a moving

experience to see into the depth of what they had lived through, first under the Nazis terror which brought fear and conflicts of conscience upon everybody, even those who were involved in compromise and accommodation; then under the bombing, the horrors of which were still in the minds and on the tongues of all; then in the despairing and mostly vain hope for the return of their husbands, sons and fathers (there are 6 million dead and hundreds of thousands missing in the East, for whose return hundreds of thousands still hope against hope); then during the invasion, especially by the Russians, with destruction, rape and deportation; then in the dreadful winter 1946-7 which is as vivid in their memories as the bombing; then under the spread of illness, especially children's tuberculosis; then under the disappointment about those whom they expected to come as liberators and who came, naturally, first of all as conquerors; then under the continuation and even sharpening of the hunger and other miseries after the downfall of Hitler; and finally in the hopelessness of their political situation, caused mostly by their own political inability, but partly caused by the occupation, and the world situation. All these experiences have fashioned a people involved in a catastrophe of unimaginable dimensions. They react to it with panic, shock and confusion, trying to meet the shaking of every single foundation of ordinary human existence both with the rediscovery of the cultural values of the past and with the finding of a transcendent security.

Everything in their attitudes and behavior is the consequence of this catastrophic situation. It explains striking emotional contradictions which make a balanced judgment about their emotional state impossible and a fair description of the reactions



even of a small group or an individual very difficult. Their catastrophic situation has created a latent hostility of everyone against everyone and of all of them against the world outside of Germany. The utterly ambiguous attitude of most Germans to the question of their guilt must also be understood from this standpoint. There are, of course, some people who unambiguously confess the guilt of the German nation as a nation, as for instance the representatives of the Protestant churches confessed it in the Stuttgart Declaration. But although they included the church in the common guilt and although they made their confession not to other nations but to God, the majority of people outside and even inside the church rejected this declaration; and are now unwilling even to discuss the problem of guilt. This does not mean that there is no guilt feeling in the masses of the German people. It was very strong immediately after the breakdown and was (and is) present consciously and unconsciously in most of them; even among former Nazis. But it has neither the character of a national repentance nor of a full acceptance of personal responsibility. The growth of a national repentance, in the sense of a *metanoia*, a "turning of the mind" in large and important parts of the nation, has been prevented by the feeling of all Germans that they have received a punishment which expiates their guilt and begins to surpass it. A national repentance has further been prevented by the guilt of the victors who, before Hitler attacked them, supported and appeased him and who later, especially in the East, did and do the same things for which the Germans were punished. It is almost certain that no movement of repentance can be expected in the future, the less so since a rapid revival of German nationalism and militarism is going on; and is favored by the former Allies on both sides of the Elbe in connection with their world dividing conflict.

These reasons are partly used by smaller groups and individuals for the sake of disavowing personal responsibility. But other reasons are added. Most people with whom I spoke have suffered under the Nazis, even when they were Nazis in a certain period. They lived in fear under a terrible pressure. They compromised, but not fully. Their behavior was—as a friend of mine expressed it—a tissue with many threads; there was idealism and there was cowardice; there was ignorance and there was half-unconscious repression of knowledge about the Nazi crimes; there was the will to "prevent the worse" by staying in a responsible position and there was the desire to have security through this position. It is because of this ambiguity in the behavior that they do not accept responsibility unequivocally. No one who divides men sharply into the good and the evil can help the German people or perhaps any people. The only way of dealing with them is to understand the ambiguity of their attitude under Hitler and the

shock-character of their present behavior. The only possibility of influencing them is to have fellowship with them, not to come as a judge or educator, nor to speak of revenge, but as a friend who is willing to receive gifts from them in exchange for what he tries to give to them. This attitude which can and must include unconditional condemnation of Nazism opens their hearts while the attitude of those who make them "objects" shuts their hearts. They know that they are mere objects in all important political decisions, that they are objects of military government, that they are objects of support. But they decline radically to be objects of a wholesale condemnation or of a self-praising propaganda or of a self-certain "re-education." They want community and exchange of experiences. They want *agape*, love in the New Testament sense of the word. And it is not by chance that when, following an instinct more than a clear insight, I centered the thoughts of many of my lectures around the idea of *agape* I received the most passionate and creative response.

On this background the cultural and spiritual situation of the German people, and especially the situation of the German churches must be understood. This also is a very confused and even paradoxical situation. There is a tremendous amount of cultural productivity. Partly it is an escape from the almost intolerable reality, partly it is a return to the classical European tradition which had been suspended under Hitler, partly it is due to a strong longing for something new whether from inside or from outside Germany. Hence the enthusiastic reception of the foreign lecturers. But one principle of this new humanism is lacking. Nationalism as a principle is discredited, although there is the dreadful danger that with the help of the Allies it may become again the principle. Democracy as a principle is rejected because the word democracy for almost all Germans means either the 36 parties of the Weimar Republic, or American capitalism, lobbying and voting machines. The meaning of democracy as a human attitude and as an acknowledgment of the rights of man is obscure to them and can certainly not be taught by Military Government. So the only remaining principle, since a new one has not appeared, is Christianity—Catholic or Protestant. And this leads to a very odd situation: it leads to a conflict between Protestantism and Humanist revival and to an alliance of Humanism and Catholicism, and it leads, for this matter, to a strong Catholic influence in Humanist as well as in Protestant circles.

Catholicism and Protestantism had fought side by side in the German church struggle. They had a united front against the Nazis and the so-called German Christians who tried to compound Nazism and Christianity. In this fight the Roman Catholic Church could remain what it always had been. It simply had to defend its traditions, its authorities, its institutions, its doctrines about the state and the

social order. All this contradicted the Nazi theory and practice, and the Catholic church in Germany fought a victorious battle of defense with great courage and much martyrdom, especially in the lower ranks of the clergy. Its present standing in Germany can hardly be over-estimated. The Catholic church is engaged in a life and death struggle with Communism and receives every support of the Western Allies. The Catholic church is a rock of security in the general insecurity of human existence and of the special insecurity in Europe and Germany. The Catholic church is able to relate itself to the cultural life, officially or unofficially, and to create a Christian culture. The Catholic church (this is a most burning issue within German Protestantism) abounds in symbols and sacraments, things that are needed in Protestantism and Humanism, especially after the catastrophe of the preceding set of symbols and quasi sacraments in the Fascist movements. For these reasons it is understandable that in the catastrophic situation of the Germans, and other Europeans, not only many conversions of highly educated people occur, but that the Catholic production in apologetic theology, philosophy and literature, for instance in some magazines, surpasses in the eyes of many Protestants and Humanists most of what Protestantism has produced. It was not only because of the genius of the locality that in the Philosophers Congress in (Catholic) Mainz the Catholic philosophers dominated the scene in spite of the presence of most of the important Protestant and Humanist philosophers.

While the Catholic church was able to defend itself by maintaining its historical structure, the Protestant church had to transform itself in order to resist the Nazi invasion. It had to reject those elements within itself which enabled the "German Christians" almost to conquer the church. These elements were expressed in a kind of "liberal theology" which denied the uniqueness of the event in "Christ," and rejected the pessimistic interpretation of human nature, the absolute significance of the Bible for Christian thought and the church as the embodiment of the new reality which is the meaning and aim of history. The negation of these principles paved the way for the doctrine of the Nazis that the German people and its mouthpiece, the Führer, is an additional source of revelation and the highest embodiment of a new reality. In declining such ideas the church had to reject some basic ideas of liberal theology. But, from the very beginning, the confessing church was extravagant in this necessary self-purification. It indulged in wholesale condemnations of the co-called Neo-Protestant period, 1730-1930. This attitude has been given institutional force in the formation of the "Evangelical Church in Germany." Radical forms of Biblical criticism are rejected and its representatives are exposed to heresy trials. One trial has already taken place, though

with a negative result. Defenders of scientific methods in historical theology and of the use of philosophical concepts in systematic theology sometimes meet a combination of ignorance and fanaticism, unknown 15 years ago.

Underlying of this attitude is a kind of eschatological feelings. The catastrophe of Europe, and especially of Germany, is felt as the "end" in a very concrete sense, perhaps as the end of human history, certainly as the end of any *Kulturreligion* (cultural religion). It cannot be denied that there is religious power in this attitude and that it gives an unshaken "transcendent security" to many people. It must also be acknowledged that the German churches try to maintain a continuous exchange of thought with those "outside." But, on the other hand, it is obvious that many "humanists," who under the impact of their catastrophic situation, ask ultimate religious questions, do not get an answer from this kind of neo-fundamentalism. Complaints from non-theologians, especially natural scientists who crowded my theological lectures, revealed to me the tragedy of this situation. They are repelled by the narrow dogmatism and confessionalism of the Protestant church, and they turn either to a negativistic "existentialism" (Germany is full of Existentialist ideas) or to a radically authoritarian Catholicism. This is one of the many tragic constellations of culture in the present German reality. In some instances common sense, which is so sadly lacking in the German mind, and the acquisition of which is Barth's desire for the German people, may be able to break through a tragic circle. For the religious situation in Germany this prescription is not adequate. No common sense is able to solve the question of the future of Protestantism in a moment of history in which the Protestant culture of a largely Protestant nation has been utterly shaken and the church tries to detach itself from this culture. Is there a place for Protestant self-criticism in a situation which cries for transcendent security, authority and abundance? Is there a non-authoritarian answer to the question implied in the present German existence?

### Church Leaders Get Halt on Executions

Church leaders in Germany have succeeded in halting the execution of forty-five persons now in Landsberg prison, all of whom were Hitler bodyguards.

In response to a barrage of appeals from German clergymen, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, General Lucius D. Clay, United States Military Governor in Germany, issued the order to halt the executions.

General Clay's order was announced in Munich by Suffragan Bishop Johannes Neuhaeusler, who sent telegrams to General Clay in Berlin and New York in an effort to secure a review of testimony.

Religious News Service

## Our Ecumenical Subscription Fund

A YEAR ago we made an appeal to our readers to which they generously responded, asking them for contributions which would enable us to send our journal to significant leaders of the churches in all parts of the world. We publish herewith responses from some recipients of these subscriptions to show how much they are being appreciated. . . .

"Thank you immensely for your generous contribution so that we in Nigeria can enjoy the privilege of reading your excellent journal. . . . I have been passing on my copies . . . to my friends who have become interested. . . . In my articles to papers and in my addresses and lectures I have often quoted from it. . . ." *E. Ita, Calabar S., Nigeria, Africa.*

" . . . I read the articles with great interest and thank you and all those who made it possible to send the periodical. . . ." *Luise Born, Bochum, Germany.*

" . . . The point of view and scope of the articles are of much help in one's thinking, for here . . . we are cut off from anything more than indirect contact with persons and events of the first importance on the world scene." *Hector W. West, Duedin, New Zealand.*

" . . . Please convey my thanks to those who have so generously contributed to your foreign subscription fund thereby enabling . . . us to understand the outside world and, maybe, ourselves." *Pastor H. J. Diehl, Bremen-Lesum, Germany.*

"Thank you very cordially for your kindness. The journal is read by friends of our ecumenical circle and they also send their thanks to you." *Prof. Stefan Zankow, Sofia, Bulgaria.*

" . . . I am thankful both to those who render it possible for people like me to get the periodical and to you for having put me on the list of possible receivers. I can tell you that an old wish of mine is being fulfilled in this way, and I shall be looking forward keenly to reading the journal. It will teach me a lot." *Prof. Dr. Hans Ehrenberg, Konvikt, Germany.*

" . . . I am very thankful for it, for you will imagine that one is glad and eager to read foreign magazines and to be acquainted with the problems and thoughts of our Christian brethren in the world after having been separated from them by the Nazi terror for so many years. . . ." *Alfred Ulrich, Berlin, Germany.*

" . . . I am grateful to those who have contributed to my subscription, and I would like to assure you that I am enjoying it very much." *Hamilkar S. Alivisatos, Athens, Greece.*

" . . . It is certainly a most interesting publication, and will be most valuable to us here in South Africa, because

it gives a fresh and wider viewpoint on many world affairs." *Vernon E. Miller, Claremont, C. P., South Africa.*

" . . . It means one most essential and lively link more with the ecumenical thinking and that means much in our dark days." *Dr. Adolf Frendenberg, Hessen, Germany.*

"I am receiving copies of your excellent paper. . . . This is to tell you how greatly I appreciate this kind gift and also to tell you how greatly I appreciate the quality of paper, which I read very carefully. . . ." *Rt. Rev. Sabapathy Kulandran, Araly, Vaddukoddai, Ceylon.*

We will, of course, be glad to receive continued contributions to this fund in order that our journal may be sent to these and other leaders in the World Church.

### An Appeal for Action In Resettling Refugees

An "Appeal for Action" to church congregations and agencies around the world, asking them to aid in resettling refugees from Europe and elsewhere, has been issued in Geneva on behalf of five religious organizations working among Protestant and Orthodox uprooted peoples.

The appeal is being sent to heads of churches, Christian agencies and inter-church organizations in countries of actual or potential resettlement, including especially the countries of North and South America, the British Commonwealth of Nations and Western Europe.

The appeal is concerned with resettling refugees not only from among Europe's 800,000 displaced persons who come under the mandate of the International Refugee Organization, but also from among the estimated 9,000,000 to 10,000,000 other uprooted peoples not eligible for IRO care.

The appeal says:

"The Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council of Churches has underscored the urgency of resettling refugees, whose plight weighs upon the Christian conscience of this world. Even now the International Refugee Organization is meeting to discuss this problem.

"In the final analysis the only way to enable these people to start a new life is to find home and jobs for them. This can be done if every local congregation and Christian agency will take responsibility for securing work and housing for at least one family. Many of these uprooted people are fellow Christians from Protestant and Orthodox Churches.

"Here is what you can do:

"1) Help to find jobs and living quarters in your community;

"2) Organize a local refugee resettlement committee to bring this problem to public attention and action;

"3) Relate your local committee to the national and international Christian agencies operating on your behalf among refugees in Europe and elsewhere;

"4) Support your denominational agencies, your councils of churches and your Christian organizations in the formation of united resettlement committees."

E. P. S. Geneva



# The World Church: News and Notes

## Statement by Bishop Ordass Accepts "The Will of God"

When Bishop Lajos Ordass stood trial before a Hungarian workers' court early in October, he declared that he was ready to accept the verdict of the judges "with humble mind and faith, as I know that in any event the blessed will of God will be done."

Charged with "foreign currency manipulation" involving funds from Lutheran Churches in America, Bishop Ordass, Primate of the Lutheran Church of Hungary, was sentenced to two years in prison. He was also deprived of his civil rights for five years, and fined 3,000 forint, about \$255.00.

In his statement to the court, Bishop Ordass said:

"During these five weeks I have asked myself and my God many times if I am guilty. I have had plenty of time to ponder this question. And now, as I stand here before my judges, I must state that I—from a childhood of poverty risen to this high responsibility—have never lived with the same peace I have experienced these five weeks."

## Roman Catholic Message to Protestants

The German Roman Catholic Day took place at the beginning of September in Mainz. The meeting sent a message to its "separated brethren" of which we quote the following extract:

"The oppression under which we have all suffered has created a feeling of unity between us, which fills us with joy and hope . . . a new sense of fellowship. The theological discussions between Catholics and non-Catholics have now reached a stage, when there is no question of polemical arguments or attempts to bridge differences, but when both sides are seeking for the heart of the truth. This is the responsibility of the clergy and of all who have been entrusted, by the Shepherd, with the care of His Church. We rejoice to see that this state of things is recognized and approved also by the leaders of the ecumenical movement.

"We are thinking especially of the help we have received in those parts of Germany which were formerly almost entirely Protestant. Not only have the Protestants—both pastors and laymen—placed their churches and meeting-halls at our disposal, they have also helped the Roman Catholic priests in many personal ways in their difficult work. We should like to thank them today with all our hearts, asking them not to flag in their help to their brethren." E. P. S. Geneva

## Report French Cardinals Weigh Support of de Gaulle

Six French cardinals met in Paris reportedly to discuss whether the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church shall continue to lend its support to the MRP, France's predominantly Catholic political party, or transfer that support to the de Gaullists.

Observers pointed out that should the assembly decide that the present government is opposed to the church, as evidenced in its policies on church schools and Chris-

tian education, the prelates will throw their support to Gen. Charles de Gaulle.

Added to support he will receive from other quarters, this move would undoubtedly assure de Gaulle a parliamentary majority.

It was understood that de Gaulle had given his personal pledge to Cardinals Suhard and Gerlier that if the Catholic Church supported his program, he would when in power, issue a Christian education decree "giving satisfaction to all Catholics." Marcell Poirier, Religious News Service Correspondent

## Federal Council Statement

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, declaring that "there can be no Christian sanction for one sided support of either economic individualism or economic collectivism," called for a perpetual Christian struggle in behalf of whatever values are most neglected in the predominant economic institutions.

"Under capitalism," said a statement approved by the Executive Committee and made public today, "the emphasis should be on the need for justice. Under the form of collectivism the emphasis should be on the need for freedom."

The statement noted that although some economic systems may be more favorable to Christian life than others, there is no "Christian" economic system that is suitable for all situations.

## Bulgarian Clergy Union Hails Government

Bulgaria's regime operates "in accord with the basic principles of Christianity," the 30th annual congress of the Clergymen's Union declared. The Union claims a membership of 2,000 Bulgarian Orthodox priests.

Asserting that they welcomed separation of Church and State in Bulgaria, the priests termed it a "completely natural situation which will not harm the Church."

Religious News Service

## Italian Ex-Priests Ask Civil Rights

A resolution denouncing clauses in the Italy-Vatican concordat which "deny civil rights" to priests who have left the Catholic Church was adopted at a congress summoned by the International Association of Ex-Priests, meeting in Rome. The sessions were held simultaneously with the first International Congress for Religious Reform in Italy, sponsored jointly by Italian Protestant leaders and former Catholic priests.

"Considering the offense to civil rights committed by Italian legislation against thousands of Italian citizens," the resolution said, "this congress denounces to Italian and world public opinion this violation of freedom and religious tolerance, and invites all freedom loving people to manifest their militant solidarity."

Organized in Florence last year, the Association claims to speak in the name of an estimated 4,000 priests

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who have abandoned Catholicism, and are said to suffer economic and civil handicaps because of disabilities imposed by the Vatican concordat.

Religious News Service

## Reports Shortage of Protestant Clergy in Spain

A "grave shortage" of Protestant ministers in Spain was reported by Dr. A. Stanley Trickett, administrative secretary of the Department of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid of the World Council of Churches, following a two-week visit to Spain and Portugal.

As an illustration of the shortage, he pointed out that only 17 of the 56 centers of the Evangelical Church of Spain are served by ordained clergymen.

In all of Spain, there are 189 Protestant centers—a larger number than he expected to find—Dr. Trickett said. Of these, 92 are sponsored by the Plymouth or Darbyist Brethren; 56 by the Evangelical Church of Spain (a union of Congregationalists, Lutherans, Methodists and Presbyterians); 32 by the Baptist group

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which is supported by the Southern Baptist Convention of the United States; and nine by the Spanish Reformed Church, an Anglican body which has historic connections with the Church of Ireland.

Dr. Trickett was accompanied on his trip by Mrs. Trickett; Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, pastor of Central Methodist church, Detroit, Michigan, and Mrs. Crane. Religious News Service

## The Church Union Movement In the North of India

With the consummation of Church Union in the South, the Union movement in the North received a great impetus. The Round Table Conference in which the negotiating bodies are the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon, the Methodist Church (British and Australian Conference), the Methodist Church in Southern Asia, and the United Church of Northern India, has had a series of meetings since 1929. A Proposed Basis of Negotiation has been unanimously approved by the representatives of the negotiating churches (with the exception of certain points which will be further considered). A Suggested Constitution has also been prepared. The documents declare: "The United Church will seek full communion and fellowship with the Church of South India, and will work for the consummation of the fuller union of a united church for all India and Pakistan, in which the severed parts of all the churches will come together again." E. P. S. Geneva

## Christianity and Democracy In Japan

"Unless Japan becomes a Christian nation, it will be difficult to make her a democratic one."

This challenging statement was made by Rev. Michio Kozaki of Tokyo, Japan, during a recent visit to the Committee for a Christian University in Japan, located in New York City. Rev. Kozaki is Moderator of the Church of Christ in Japan, an organization of the Protestant churches in that country, as well as Chairman of the National Christian Council.

The Japanese people today are looking for democratic, Christian leadership, according to the minister. "Our young people are very pro-American. They feel that if we are to have a great future and a happy one, we must have a democratic country."

In order that the people of Japan soon may assume a strong democratic leadership of their country, a Christian university must be founded there to educate the potential leaders. "In reconstruction, many people think only materials are needed, but this Christian university is very important. Unless it is realized, it will be difficult to make Japan democratic," Rev. Kozaki said.

Although there are many Christian institutions in Japan, they are high schools and junior colleges only, and none have the high scholastic standard needed at this crucial point in history.

## Author in This Issue

Paul Tillich, who is Professor of Philosophical Theology at Union Theological Seminary, New York City, returned recently from a four month lecture tour in Germany.